MISCELLANEOUS

ARTICLES,

BY

THOMAS PAINE.

CONSISTING OF

A LETTER TO THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.

A LETTER TO THE AUTHORS OF THE REPUBLICAN.

A LETTER TO THE ABBE SYEYES.

THOUGHTS ON THE PEACE, AND THE PROBABLE ADVANTAGES THEREOF.

FIRST LETTER TO MR. SECRETARY DUNDAS.

LETTER TO LORD ONSLOW.

SECOND LETTER TO MR. DUNDAS.

AND

A LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

A

LETTER

TO THE

MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.

My Lord,

A SPEECH which has been printed in ſeveral of the Britiſh and New-York Newſpapers, as coming from your Lordſhip, in anſwer to one from the Duke of Richmond of the 10th July laſt, contains expreſſions and opinions ſo new and ſingular, and ſo enveloped in myſterious reaſoning, that I addreſs this publication to you, for the purpoſe of giving them a free and candid examination. The ſpeech I allude to is in theſe words:

"His Lordſhip ſaid, it had been mentioned in another place, that he had "been guilty of inconſiſtence. To clear himſelf of this, he aſſerted, that "he ſtill held the ſame principles in reſpect to American Independence which "he at firſt imbibed. He had been, and yet was of opinion, whenever the "Parliament of Great Britain acknowledges that point, the ſun of England's "glory is ſet for ever. Such were the ſentiments he poſſeſſed on a former day, "and ſuch the ſentiments he continued to hold at this hour. It was the opi-"nion of Lord Chatham, as well as many able ſtateſmen. Other noble Lords, "however, think differently; and as the majority of the Cabinet ſupport them, "he acquieſced in the meaſure, diſſenting from the idea; and the point is ſet-"tled for bringing the matter into the full diſcuſſion of Parliament, where it "will be candidly, fairly, and impartially debated. The Independence of Ame-"rica would end in the ruin of England; and that a peace patched up with "France would give that proud enemy the means of yet trampling on this "country. The ſun of England's glory he wiſhed not to ſee ſet for ever; he "looked for a ſpark at leaſt to be left, which might in time light us up to a "new day. But if Independence was to be granted, if Parliament deemed that "meaſure prudent, he foreſaw in his own mind that England was undone. He "wiſhed to God that he had been deputed to Congreſs, that he might plead the "cauſe of that country as well as of this, and that he might exerciſe whatever "powers he poſſeſſed as an orator, to ſave both from ruin, in a conviction to "Congreſs, that, if their Independence was ſigned, their liberties were gone for "ever.

"Peace, his Lordſhip added, was a deſirable object, but it muſt be an ho-"nourable peace, and not an humiliating one, dictated by France, or inſiſted "on by America. It was very true, this kingdom was not in a flouriſhing "ſtate, it was impoveriſhed by war. But if we were not rich, it was evident that "France was poor. If we were ſtraitened in our finances, the enemy were exhauſt-"ed in their reſources. This was a great empire; it abounded with brave men, "who were able and willing to fight in a common cauſe; the language of hu-"miliation ſhould not, therefore, be the language of Great Britain. His Lord-"ſhip ſaid, that he was not aſhamed nor afraid of thoſe expreſſions going to "America. There were numbers, great numbers there, who were of the ſame

"way of thinking, in reſpect to that country being dependent on this, and who, "with his Lordſhip, perceived ruin and independence linked together."

Thus far the ſpeech; on which I remark—That his Lordſhip is a total ſtranger to the mind and ſentiments of America; that he has wrapped himſelf up in fond deluſion, that ſomething leſs than Independence may, under his adminiſtration, be accepted; and he wiſhes himſelf ſent to Congreſs, to prove the moſt extraordinary of all doctrines, which is, that INDEPENDENCE, the ſubliméſt of all human conditions, is loſs of liberty.

In anſwer to which we may ſay, that in order to know what the contrary word DEPENDENCE means, we have only to look back to thoſe years of ſevere humiliation, when the mildeſt of all petitions could obtain no other notice than the haughtieſt of all inſults; and when the baſe terms of unconditional ſubmiſſion were demanded, or undiſtinguiſhable deſtruction threatened. It is nothing to us that the Miniſtry have been changed, for they may be changed again. The guilt of Government is the crime of a whole country: and the nation that can, though but for a moment, think and act as England has done, can never afterwards be believed or truſted. There are caſes in which it is as impoſſible to reſtore character to life, as it is to recover the dead. It is a phœnix that can expire but once, and from whoſe aſhes there is no reſurrection. Some offences are of ſuch a ſlight compoſition, that they reach no farther than the temper, and are created or cured by a thought. But the ſin of England has ſtruck the heart of America, and nature has not left it in our power to ſay we can forgive.

Your Lordſhip wiſhes for an opportunity to plead before Congreſs *the cauſe of England and America, and to ſave, as you ſay, both from ruin.*

That the country, which, for more than ſeven years, has ſought our deſtruction, ſhould now cringe to ſolicit our protection, is adding the wretchedneſs of diſgrace to the miſery of diſappointment; and if England has the leaſt ſpark of ſuppoſed honour left, that ſpark muſt be darkened by aſking, and extinguiſhed by receiving, the ſmalleſt favour from America: for the criminal who owes his life to the grace and mercy of the injured, is more executed by living than he who dies.

But a thouſand pleadings, even from your Lordſhip, can have no effect. Honour, intereſt, and every ſenſation of the heart, would plead againſt you. We are a people who think not as you think; and what is equally true, you cannot feel as we feel. The ſituations of the two countries are exceedingly different. We have been the ſeat of war; you have ſeen nothing of it. The moſt wanton deſtruction has been committed in our ſight; the moſt inſolent barbarity has been acted on our feelings. We can look round and ſee the remains of burnt and deſtroyed houſes, once the fair fruit of hard induſtry, and now the ſtriking monuments of Britiſh brutality. We walk over the dead whom we loved, in every part of America, and remember by whom they fell. There is ſcarcely a village but brings to life ſome melancholy thought, and reminds us of what we have ſuffered, and of thoſe we have loſt by the inhumanity of Britain. A thouſand images ariſe to us, which, from ſituation, you cannot ſee, and are accompanied by as many ideas which you cannot know; and therefore your ſuppoſed ſyſtem of reaſoning would apply to nothing, and all your expectations die of themſelves.

The queſtion, whether England ſhall accede to the Independence of America, and which your Lordſhip ſays is to undergo a parliamentary diſcuſſion, is ſo very ſimple, and compoſed of ſo few caſes, that it ſcarcely needs a debate.

It is the only way out of an expenſive and ruinous war, which has now no object, and without which acknowledgement there can be no peace.

But your Lordſhip ſays, "*The ſun of Great Britain will ſet whenever ſhe ac-*"*knowledges the Independence of America.*" Whereas the metaphor would have been ſtrictly juſt, to have left the ſun wholly out of the figure, and have aſcribed her not acknowledging it to the influence of the moon.

But

But the expreſſion, if true, is the greateſt confeſſion of diſgrace that could be made, and furniſhes America with the higheſt notions of ſovereign independent importance. Mr. Wedderburne, about the year 1776, made uſe of an idea of much the ſame kind.—"*Relinquiſh America!*" ſays he—"*What is it but to "deſire a giant to ſhrink ſpontaneouſly into a dwarf.*"

Alas! are thoſe people who call themſelves Engliſhmen, of ſo little internal conſequence, that when America is gone, or ſhuts her eyes upon them, her ſun is ſet, they can ſhine no more, but grope about in obſcurity, and contract into inſignificant animals? Was America, then, the giant of the empire, and England only her dwarf in waiting? Is the caſe ſo ſtrangely altered, that thoſe who once thought we could not live without them, now declare they cannot exiſt without us? Will they tell to the world, and that from her firſt Miniſter of State, that America is their all in all; that it is by their importance only they can live, and breathe, and have a being? Will they, who threatened to bring us to their feet, now caſt themſelves at ours, and own, that without us they are not a nation? Are they become ſo unqualified to debate on Independence, that they have loſt all idea of it in themſelves, and are calling to the rocks and mountains of America to cover their inſignificance? Or, if America is loſt, is it manly to ſob over it like a child for its rattle, and invite the laughter of the world by declarations of diſgrace? Surely, the more conſiſtent conduct would be, to bear it without complaint; and to ſhew that England, without America, can preſerve her Independence, and a ſuitable rank with other European Powers. You were not content while you had her, and to weep for her now is childiſh.

But Lord Shelburne thinks that ſomething may yet be done. What that ſomething is, or how it is to be accompliſhed, is a matter in obſcurity. By arms there is no hope. The experience of nearly eight years, with the expence of an hundred million pounds ſterling, and the loſs of two armies, muſt poſitively decide that point. Beſides, the Britiſh have loſt their intereſt in America with the diſaffected. Every part of it has been tried. There is no new ſcene left for deluſion; and the thouſands who have been ruined by adhering to them, and have now to quit the ſettlements they had acquired, and be conveyed like tranſports to cultivate the deſerts of Auguſtine and Nova Scotia, has put an end to all farther expectations of aid.

If you caſt your eyes on the people of England, what have they to conſole themſelves with for the millions expended? or, what encouragement is there left to continue throwing good money after bad? America can carry on the war for ten years longer, and all the charges of government included, for leſs than you can defray the charges of war and government for one year. And I, who know both countries, know well, that the people of America can afford to pay their ſhare of the expence much better than the people of England can. Beſides, it is their own eſtates and property, their own rights, liberties and government, they are defending; and were they not to do it, they would deſerve to loſe all, and none would pity them. The fault would be their own, and their puniſhment juſt.

The Britiſh army in America care not how long the war laſts. They enjoy an eaſy and indolent life. They fatten on the folly of one country, and the ſpoils of another; and, between their plunder and their pay, may go home rich. But the caſe is very different with the labouring farmer, the working tradeſman, and the neceſſitous poor in England, the ſweat of whoſe brow goes day after day to feed, in prodigality and ſloth, the army that is robbing both them and us. Removed from the eye of the country that ſupports them, and diſtant from the government that employs them, they cut and carve for themſelves, and there is none to call them to account.

But England will be ruined, ſays Lord Shelburne, if America is independent.

Then, I ſay, is England already ruined, for America is already independent; and if Lord Shelburne will not allow this, he immediately denies the fact which he infers. Beſides, to make England the mere creature of America, is paying too great a compliment to us, and too little to himſelf.

But the declaration is a rhapſody of inconſiſtence. For to ſay, as Lord Shelburne has numberleſs times ſaid, that the war againſt America is ruinous, and yet to continue the proſecution of that ruinous war for the purpoſe of avoiding ruin, is a language which cannot be underſtood. Neither is it poſſible to ſee how the independence of America is to accompliſh the ruin of England after the war is over, and yet not effect it before. America cannot be more independent of her, nor a greater enemy to her, hereafter than ſhe is now; nor England derive leſs advantages from her than at preſent. Why then is ruin to follow in the beſt ſtate of the caſe, and not in the worſt? And if not in the worſt, why is it to follow at all?

That a nation is to be ruined by peace and commerce, and fourteen or fifteen millions a year leſs expences than before, is a new doctrine in politics. We have heard much clamour of national ſayings and œconomy; but ſurely the true œconomy would be, to ſave the whole charge of a ſilly, fooliſh, and headſtrong war, becauſe, compared with this, all other retrenchments are bawbles and trifles.

But is it poſſible that Lord Shelburne can be ſerious in ſuppoſing the leaſt advantage can be obtained by arms, or that any advantage can be equal to the expence, or the danger of attempting it? Will not the capture of one army after another ſatisfy him, but all muſt become priſoners? Muſt England ever be the ſport of hope, and the dupe of deluſion? Sometimes our currency was to fail; another time our army was to diſband: then whole provinces were to revolt. Such a General ſaid this and that; another wrote ſo and ſo. Lord Chatham was of this opinion; and Lord Somebody elſe of another. To-day 20,000 Ruſſians and 20 ſhips of the line were to come; to-morrow the Empreſs was abuſed without mercy or decency.—Then the Emperor of Germany was to be bribed with a million of money, and the King of Pruſſia was to do wonderful things. At one time it was, Lo here! and then it was, Lo there! Sometimes this Power, and ſometimes that Power, was to engage in the war, juſt as if the whole world was as mad and fooliſh as Britain. And thus, from year to year, has every ſtraw been catched at, and every Will-with-a-wiſp led them a new dance.

This year a ſtill newer folly is to take place. Lord Shelburne wiſhes to be ſent to Congreſs, and he thinks that ſomething may be done.

Are not the repeated declarations of Congreſs, and which all America ſupports, that they will not even hear any propoſals whatever, until the unconditional and unequivocal Independence of America is recogniſed; are not, I ſay, theſe declarations anſwer enough?

But for England to receive any thing from America now, after ſo many inſults, injuries, and outrages, acted towards us, would ſhew ſuch a ſpirit of meanneſs in her, that we could not but deſpiſe her for accepting it. And ſo far from Lord Shelburne coming here to ſolicit it, it would be the greateſt diſgrace we could do them to offer it. England would appear a wretch indeed, at this time of day, to aſk or owe any thing to the bounty of America. Has not the name of Engliſhman blots enough upon it, without inventing more? Even Lucifer would ſcorn to reign in Heaven by permiſſion, and yet an Engliſhman can creep for only an entrance into America. Or has a land of Liberty ſo many charms, that to be a door-keeper in it is better than to be an Engliſh Miniſter of State?

But what can this expected ſomething be? or, if obtained, what can it amount to, but new diſgraces, contentions, and quarrels? The people of America have for years accuſtomed themſelves to think and ſpeak ſo freely and contemptuouſly of Engliſh authority, and the inveteracy is ſo deeply rooted, that a perſon

inveſted with any authority from that country, and attempting to exerciſe it here, would have the life of a toad under a harrow. They would look upon him as an interloper, to whom their compaſſion permitted a reſidence. He would be no more than the Mungo of the farce; and if he diſliked that, he muſt ſet off. It would be a ſtation of degradation, debaſed by our pity, and deſpiſed by our pride, and would place England in a more contemptible ſituation than ſhe has yet ſuffered by the war. We have too high an opinion of ourſelves, ever to think of yielding again the leaſt obedience to outlandiſh authority; and for a thouſand reaſons, England would be the laſt country in the world to yield it to. She has been treacherous, and we know it. Her character is gone, and we have ſeen the funeral.

Surely ſhe loves to fiſh in troubled waters, and drink the cup of contention, or ſhe would not now think of mingling her affairs with thoſe of America. It would be like a fooliſh dotard taking to his arms the bride that deſpiſes him, or who has placed on his head the enſigns of her diſguſt. It is kiſſing the hand that boxes his ears, and propoſing to renew the exchange. The thought is as ſervile as the war was wicked, and ſhews the laſt ſcene of the drama as inconſiſtent as the firſt.

As America is gone, the only act of manhood is to *let her go*. Your Lordſhip had no hand in the ſeparation, and you will gain no honour by temporiſing politics. Beſides, there is ſomething ſo exceedingly whimſical, unſteady, and even inſincere, in the preſent conduct of England, that ſhe exhibits herſelf in the moſt diſhonourable colours.

On the ſecond of Auguſt laſt General Carleton and Admiral Digby wrote to General Waſhington in theſe words:—

"The reſolution of the Houſe of Commons of the 27th of February laſt "have been placed in your Excellency's hand, and intimations given at the "ſame time, that farther pacific meaſures were likely to follow. Since "which, until the preſent time, we have had no direct communications from "England; but a mail is now arrived, which brings us very important in-"formation. We are acquainted, Sir, *by Authority*, that negociations for a "general peace have already commenced at Paris, and that Mr. Grenville is "inveſted with full powers to treat with all the parties at war, and is now at "Paris in the execution of his commiſſion. And we are farther, Sir, made "acquainted, *that his Majeſty, in order to remove all obſtacles to that peace "which he ſo ardently wiſhes to reſtore, has commanded his Miniſters to direct "Mr. Grenville, that the Independence of the Thirteen United Provinces ſhould be "propoſed by him in the firſt inſtance, inſtead of making it a condition of a "general treaty.*"

Now, taking your preſent meaſures into view, and comparing them with the declaration in this Letter, pray what is the word of your King, or his Miniſters, or the Parliament, good for? Muſt we not look upon you as a confederated body of faithleſs, treacherous men, whoſe aſſurances are fraud, and their language deceit? What opinion can we poſſibly form of you, but that you are a loſt, abandoned, profligate nation, who ſport even with your own character, and are to be held by nothing but the bayonet or the halter?

To ſay, after this, *that the ſun of Great Britain will be ſet whenever ſhe acknowledges the Independence of America*, when the not doing it is the unqualified lie of Government, can be no other than the language of ridicule, the jargon of inconſiſtency. There were thouſands in America who predicted the deluſion, and looked upon it as a trick of treachery, to take us from our guard, and draw off our attention from the only ſyſtem of finance, by which we can be called, or deſerved to be called, a ſovereign, independent people. The fraud, on your part, might be worth attempting, but the ſacrifice to obtain it is too high.

There were others who credited the aſſurance, becauſe they thought it impoſſible that men who had their characters to eſtabliſh, would begin it with a lie.

lie. The profecution of the war by the former Miniſtry was ſavage and horrid; ſince which it has been mean, trickiſh, and deluſive. The one went greedily into the paſſion of revenge, the other into the ſubtleties of low contrivance; till, between the crimes of both, there is ſcarcely left a man in America, be he Whig or Tory, who does not deſpiſe or deteſt the conduct of Britain.

The management of Lord Shelburne, whatever may be his views, is a caution to us, and muſt be to the world, never to regard Britiſh aſſurances. A perfidy ſo notorious cannot be hid. It ſtands even in the public papers of New York, with the names of Carleton and Digby affixed to it. It is a proclamation that the King of England is not to be believed; that the ſpirit of lying is the governing principle of the Miniſtry. It is holding up the character of the Houſe of Commons to public infamy, and warning all men not to credit them. Such is the conſequence which Lord Shelburne's management has brought upon his country.

After the authoriſed declarations contained in Carleton and Digby's letter, you ought, from every motive of honour, policy, and prudence, to have fulfilled them, whatever might have been the event. It was the leaſt atonement you could poſſibly make to America, and the greateſt kindneſs you could do to yourſelves; for you will ſave millions by a general peace, and you will loſe as many by continuing the war.

Philadelphia, COMMON SENSE.
October 29, 1782.

P. S. The manuſcript copy of this letter is ſent your Lordſhip, by the way of our Head Quarters, to New York, incloſing a late pamphlet of mine addreſſed to the Abbe Reynal, which will ſerve to give your Lordſhip ſome idea of the principles and ſentiments of America. C. S.

APPENDIX.

THE two following Letters were firſt publiſhed in England, in the Morning Poſt:

TO THE AUTHORS OF THE REPUBLICAN.

GENTLEMEN,

M. DUCHASTELET has mentioned to me the intention of ſome perſons to commence a Work under the title of *The Republican*.

As I am a Citizen of a country which knows no other Majeſty than that of the People—no other Government than that of the Repreſentative body—no other ſovereignty than that of the Laws, and which is attached to *France* both by alliance and by gratitude, I voluntarily offer you my ſervices in ſupport of principles as honourable to a nation as they are adapted to promote the happineſs of mankind. I offer them to you with the more zeal, as I know the moral, literary, and

and political character of thoſe who are engaged in the undertaking, and find myſelf honoured in their good opinion.

But I muſt at the ſame time obſerve, that from my ignorance of the French language, my works muſt neceſſarily undergo a tranſlation; they can of courſe be but of little utility, and my offering muſt conſiſt more of wiſhes than ſervices.—I muſt add, that I am obliged to paſs a part of this ſummer in England and Ireland.

As the Public has done me the unmerited favour of recognizing me under the appellation of "Common Senſe," which is my uſual ſignature, I ſhall continue it in this publication to avoid miſtakes, and to prevent my being ſuppoſed the author of works not my own. As to my political principles, I ſhall endeavour, in this letter, to trace their general features in ſuch a manner as that they cannot be miſunderſtood.

It is deſirable in moſt inſtances to avoid that, which may give even the leaſt ſuſpicion with reſpect to the part meant to be adopted, and particularly on the preſent occaſion, where a perfect clearneſs of expreſſion is neceſſary to the avoidance of any poſſible miſinterpretation. I am happy, therefore, to find, that the work in queſtion is entitled "*The Republican.*" This word expreſſes perfectly the idea which we ought to have of Government in general—*Res Publica*—the public affairs of a nation.

As to the word *Monarchy*, though the addreſs and intrigue of Courts have rendered it familiar, it does not contain the leſs of reproach or of inſult to a nation. The word, in its immediate and original ſenſe, ſignifies *the abſolute power of a ſingle individual*, who may prove a fool, an hypocrite, or a tyrant. The appellation admits of no other interpretation than that which is here given. *France* is therefore not a *Monarchy*; it is inſulted when called by that name. The ſervile ſpirit which characteriſes this ſpecies of Government is baniſhed from FRANCE, and this country, like AMERICA, can now afford to Monarchy no more than a glance of diſdain.

Of the errors which monarchic ignorance or knavery has ſpread through the world, the one which bears the marks of the moſt dexterous invention is the opinion that the ſyſtem of *Republicaniſm* is only adapted to a ſmall country, and that a *Monarchy* is ſuited, on the contrary, to thoſe of greater extent. Such is the language of Courts, and ſuch the ſentiments which they have cauſed to be adopted in monarchic countries; but the opinion is contrary, at the ſame time, to principle and to experience.

The GOVERNMENT, to be of real uſe, ſhould poſſeſs a complete knowledge of all the parties—all the circumſtances, and all the intereſts of a nation. The monarchic ſyſtem, in conſequence, inſtead of being ſuited to a country of great extent, would be more admiſſible in a ſmall territory, where an individual may be ſuppoſed to know the affairs and the intereſts of the whole. But when it is attempted to extend this individual knowledge to the affairs of a great country, the capacity of knowing bears no longer any proportion to the extent or multiplicity of the objects which ought to be known, and the Government inevitably falls from ignorance into tyranny. For the proof of this poſition we need only look to Spain, Ruſſia, Germany, Turkey, and the whole of the Eaſtern Continent—Countries, for the deliverance of which I offer my ſincere wiſhes.

On the contrary, the true *Republican* ſyſtem, by Election and Repreſentation, offers the only means which are known, and, in my opinion, the only means which are poſſible of proportioning the wiſdom and the information of a Government to the extent of a country.

The ſyſtem of *Repreſentation* is the ſtrongeſt and moſt powerful center that can be deviſed for a nation. Its attraction acts ſo powerfully, that men give it their approbation even without reaſoning on the cauſe; and FRANCE, however diſtant its ſeveral parts, finds itſelf at this moment *an whole* in its *central* Repreſentation. The citizen is aſſured that his rights are protected, and the ſoldier

feels

feels that he is no longer the ſlave of a Deſpot, but that he is become one of the Nation, and intereſted of courſe in its defence.

The States at preſent ſtyled *Republican*, as Holland, Genoa, Venice, Berne, &c. are not only unworthy of the name, but are actually in oppoſition to every principle of a *Republican* government, and the countries ſubmitted to their power are, truly ſpeaking, ſubjected to an *Ariſtocratic* ſlavery!

It is, perhaps, impoſſible in the firſt ſteps which are made in a Revolution, to avoid all kind of error, in principle or in practice, or in ſome inſtances to prevent the combination of both. Before the ſenſe of a nation is ſufficiently enlightened, and before men have entered into the habits of a free communication with each other of their natural thoughts, a certain reſerve—a timid prudence ſeizes on the human mind, and prevents it from attaining its level, with that vigour and promptitude which belongs to *right*.—An example of this influence diſcovers itſelf in the commencement of the preſent Revolution: but happily this diſcovery has been made before the Conſtitution was completed, and in time to provide a remedy.

The *hereditary ſucceſſion* can never exiſt as a matter of *right*; it is a *nullity*—a *nothing*. To admit the idea is to regard men as a ſpecies of property belonging to ſome individuals, either born or to be born! It is to conſider our deſcendents, and all poſterity, as mere animals without a right or a will! It is, in fine, the moſt baſe and humiliating idea that ever degraded the human ſpecies, and which, for the honour of Humanity, ſhould be deſtroyed for ever.

The idea of hereditary ſucceſſion is ſo contrary to the rights of man, that if we were ourſelves to be recalled to exiſtence, inſtead of being replaced by our poſterity, we ſhould not have the right of depriving ourſelves beforehand of thoſe *rights* which would then properly belong to us. On what ground, then, or by what authority, do we dare to deprive of their rights thoſe children who will ſoon be men? Why are we not ſtruck with the injuſtice which we perpetrate on our deſcendents, by endeavouring to tranſmit them as a vile herd, to maſters whoſe vices are all that can be foreſeen.

Whenever the *French* Conſtitution ſhall be rendered conformable to its *Declaration* of *Rights*, we ſhall then be enabled to give to France, and with juſtice, the appellation of a *civic Empire*; for its government will be the empire of laws founded on the great republican principles of *Elective Repreſentation*, and the *Rights of Man*.—But Monarchy and Hereditary Succeſſion are incompatible with the *baſis* of its conſtitution.

I hope that I have at preſent ſufficiently proved to you that I am a good Republican; and I have ſuch a confidence in the truth of theſe principles, that I doubt not they will ſoon be as univerſal in *France* as in *America*. The pride of human nature will aſſiſt their evidence, will contribute to their eſtabliſhment, and men will be aſhamed of Monarchy.

I am, with reſpect, Gentlemen, your friend,

THOMAS PAINE.

LETTER TO THE ABBE SYEYES.

SIR, *Paris, 8th July, 1782.*

"AT the moment of my departure for England, I read, in the *Moniteur* of Tueſday laſt, your letter, in which you give the challenge, on the ſubject of Government, and offer to defend what is called the *Monarchical opinion* againſt the Republican ſyſtem.

"I ac-

"I accept of your challenge with pleaſure; and I place ſuch a confidence in the ſuperiority of the Republican ſyſtem over that nullity of ſyſtem, called *Monarchy*, that I engage not to exceed the extent of fifty pages, and to leave you the liberty of taking as much latitude as you may think proper.

"The reſpect which I bear your moral and literary reputation, will be your ſecurity for my candour in the courſe of this diſcuſſion; but, notwithſtanding that I ſhall treat the ſubject ſeriouſly and ſincerely, let me premiſe, that I conſider myſelf at liberty to ridicule as they deſerve, Monarchical abſurdities, whenſoever the occaſion ſhall preſent itſelf.

"By Republicaniſm, I do not underſtand what the name ſignifies in Holland, and in ſome parts of Italy. I underſtand ſimply a government by repreſentation —a government founded upon the principles of the Declaration of Rights; principles to which ſeveral parts of the French Conſtitution ariſe in contradiction. The Declaration of the Rights of France and America are but one and the ſame thing in principles, and almoſt in expreſſions; and this is the Republicaniſm which I undertake to defend againſt what is called *Monarchy* and *Ariſtocracy*.

"I ſee with pleaſure, that in reſpect to one point we are already agreed; and *that is, the extreme danger of a civil liſt of thirty millions*. I can diſcover no reaſon why one of the parts of the government ſhould be ſupported with ſo extravagant a profuſion, whilſt the other ſcarcely receives what is ſufficient for its common wants.

"This dangerous and diſhonourable diſproportion, at once ſupplies the one with the means of corrupting, and throws the other into the predicament of being corrupted. In America there is but little difference, with regard to this point, between the legiſlative and the executive part of our government; but the firſt is much better attended to than it is in France.*

"In whatſoever manner, Sir, I may treat the ſubject of which you have propoſed the inveſtigation, I hope that you will not doubt my entertaining for you the higheſt eſteem. I muſt alſo add, that I am not the perſonal enemy of Kings. Quite the contrary. No man more heartily wiſhes than myſelf to ſee them all in the happy and honourable ſtate of private individuals; but I am the avowed, open, and intrepid enemy of what is called Monarchy; and I am ſuch by principles which nothing can either alter or corrupt—by my attachment to humanity; by the anxiety which I feel within myſelf for the dignity and the honour of the human race; by the diſguſt which I experience, when I obſerved men directed by children, and governed by brutes; by the horror which all the evils that Monarchy has ſpread over the earth excite within my breaſt; and by thoſe ſentiments which make me ſhudder at the calamities, the exactions, the wars, and the maſſacres with which Monarchy has cruſhed mankind: in ſhort, it is againſt all the hell of Monarchy that I have declared war.

(Signed) THOMAS PAINE."

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* A Deputy to the Congreſs receives about a guinea and a half daily; and proviſions are cheaper in America than in France.

THOUGHTS ON THE PEACE,

AND

PROBABLE ADVANTAGES THEREOF.

"THE times that tried men's ſouls"* are over—and the greateſt and completeſt Revolution the world ever knew is glorioufly and happily accompliſhed.

But, to paſs from the extremes of danger to ſafety—from the tumult of war to the tranquillity of peace, though ſweet in contemplation, requires a gradual compoſure of the ſenſes to receive it. Even calmneſs has the power of ſtunning, when it opens too inſtantly upon us. The long and raging hurricane that ſhould ceaſe in a moment, would leave us in a ſtate rather of wonder than enjoyment; and ſome moments of recollection muſt paſs before we could be capable of taſting the full felicity of repoſe. There are but few inſtances in which the mind is fitted for ſudden tranſitions; it takes in its pleaſures by reflection and compariſon, and thoſe muſt have time to act, before the reliſh for new ſcenes is complete.

In the preſent caſe—the mighty magnitude of the object—the various uncertainties of fate it has undergone—the numerous and complicated dangers we have ſuffered or eſcaped—the eminence we now ſtand on, and the vaſt proſpect before us, muſt all conſpire to impreſs us with contemplation.

To ſee it in our power to make a world happy—to teach mankind the art of being ſo—to exhibit on the theatre of the univerſe a character hitherto unknown—and to have, as it were, a new creation entruſted to our hands, are honours that command reflection, and can neither be too highly eſtimated, nor too gratefully received.

In this pauſe, then, of recollection—while the ſtorm is ceaſing, and the long-agitated mind vibrating to a reſt, let us look back on the ſcenes we have paſſed, and learn from experience what is yet to be done.

Never, I ſay, had a country ſo many openings to happineſs as this. Her ſetting out into life, like the riſing of a fair morning, was unclouded and promiſing. Her cauſe was good; her principles juſt and liberal; her temper ſerene and firm; her conduct regulated by the niceſt ſteps of order; and every thing about her wore the mark of honour.

It is not every country (perhaps there is not another in the world) that can boaſt ſo fair an origin. Even the firſt ſettlement of America correſponds with the character of the Revolution. Rome, once the proud miſtreſs of the univerſe, was originally a band of ruffians. Plunder and rapine made her rich, and her oppreſſion of millions made her great. But America needs never be aſhamed to tell her birth, nor relate the ſtages by which ſhe roſe to empire.

The remembrance, then, of what is paſt, if it operate rightly, muſt inſpire her with the moſt laudable of all ambition, that of adding to the fair fame ſhe began with. The world has ſeen her great in adverſity; ſtruggling, without a thought of yielding, beneath accumulated difficulties; bravely, nay proudly encountering diſtreſs, and riſing in reſolution as the ſtorm increaſed. All this is juſtly due to her, for her fortitude has merited the character. Let, then,

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* "Theſe are the times that try men's ſouls."
Criſis, No. 1, publiſhed Dec. 19, 1776.

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the world ſee that ſhe can bear proſperity; and that her honeſt virtue in time of peace is equal to the braveſt virtue in time of war.

She is now deſcending to the ſcences of quiet and domeſtic life; not beneath the cypreſs ſhade of diſappointment, but to enjoy in her own land, and under her own vine, the ſweets of her labours, and the reward of her toil. In this ſituation, may ſhe never forget, that a fair national reputation is of as much importance as independence; that it poſſeſſes a charm which wins upon the world, and makes even enemies civil; that it gives a dignity which is often ſuperior to power, and commands a reverence where pomp and ſplendour fail.

It would be a circumſtance ever to be lamented, and never to be forgotten, were a ſingle blot, from any cauſe whatever, ſuffered to fall on a Revolution, which, to the end of time, muſt be an honour to the age that accompliſhed it; and which has contributed more to enlighten the world, and diffuſe a ſpirit of freedom and liberality among mankind, than any human event (if this can be called one) that ever preceded it.

It is not among the leaſt of the calamities of a long-continued war, that it unhinges the mind from thoſe nice ſenſations which at other times appears ſo amiable. The continual ſpectacle of woe blunts the finer feelings, and the neceſſity of bearing with the ſight renders it familiar. In like manner are many of the moral obligations of ſociety weakened, till the cuſtom of acting by neceſſity becomes an apology where it is truly a crime. Yet let but a nation conceive rightly of its character, and it will be chaſtely juſt in protecting it. None ever began with a fairer than America, and none can be under a greater obligation to preſerve it.

The debt which America has contracted, compared with the cauſe ſhe has gained, and the advantages to flow from it, ought ſcarcely to be mentioned. She has it in her choice to do, and to live, as happily as ſhe pleaſes. The world is in her hands. She has now no foreign power to monopolize her commerce, perplex her legiſlation, or controul her proſperity. The ſtruggle is over which muſt one day have happened, and, perhaps, never could have happened at a better time;* and inſtead of a domineering maſter, ſhe has gained an ally, whoſe exemplary greatneſs, and univerſal liberality, have extorted a confeſſion even from her enemies.

With

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* That the Revolution began at the exact period of time beſt fitted for the purpoſe, is ſufficiently proved by the event. But the great hinge on which the whole machine turned, is the *Union of the States*; and this union was naturally produced by the inability of any one State to ſupport itſelf againſt a foreign enemy without the aſſiſtance of the reſt.

Had the States ſeverally been leſs able than they were when the war began, their united ſtrength would not have been equal to the undertaking, and they muſt, in all human probability, have failed.—And, on the other hand, had they ſeverally been more able, they might not have ſeen, or, what is more, might not have felt the neceſſity of uniting; and, either by attempting to ſtand alone, or in ſmall confederacies, would have been ſeparately conquered.

Now, as we cannot ſee a time (and many years muſt paſs away before it can arrive) when the ſtrength of any one State, or of ſeveral united, can be equal to the whole of the preſent United States; and as we have ſeen the extreme difficulty of collectively proſecuting the war to a ſucceſsful iſſue, and preſerving our national importance in the world; therefore, from the experience we have had, and the knowledge we have gained, we muſt, unleſs we make a waſte of wiſdom, be ſtrongly impreſſed with the advantage, as well as the neceſſity, of ſtrengthening the happy union which has been our ſalvation, and without which we ſhould have been a ruined people.

With the bleſſings of peace, independence, and an univerſal commerce, the States, individually and collectively, will have leiſure and opportunity to regulate and eſtabliſh their domeſtic concerns, and to put it beyond the power of calumny to throw the leaſt reflection on their honour. Character is much eaſier kept than recovered; and that man, if any ſuch there be, who, from any ſiniſter views, or littleneſs of ſoul, lends, unſeen, his hand to injure it, contrives a wound it will never be in his power to heal.

As we have eſtabliſhed an inheritance for poſterity, let that inheritance deſcend with every mark of an honourable conveyance. The little it will coſt, compared with the worth of the States, the greatneſs of the object, and the value of national character, will be a profitable exchange.

But that which muſt more forcibly ſtrike a thoughtful, penetrating mind, and which includes and renders eaſy all inferior concerns, is the *Union of the States*. On this our great national character depends. It is this which muſt give us importance abroad and ſecurity at home. It is through this only that we are, or can be, nationally known in the world. It is the flag of the United States which renders our ſhips and commerce ſafe on the ſeas, or in a foreign port. Our Mediterranean paſſes muſt be obtained under the ſame ſtyle. All our treaties, whether of alliance, peace, or commerce, are formed under the ſovereignty of the United States, and Europe knows us by no other name or title.

The diviſion of the empire into ſtates is for our own convenience, but abroad this diſtinction ceaſes. The affairs of each ſtate are local: they can go no farther than to itſelf; and were the whole worth of even the richeſt of them expended in revenue, it would not be ſufficient to ſupport ſovereignty againſt a foreign attack. In ſhort, we have no other national ſovereignty than as United States. It would even be fatal for us if we had—too expenſive to be maintained, and impoſſible to be ſupported. Individuals, or individual ſtates, may call themſelves what they pleaſe; but the world, and eſpecially the world of enemies, is not to be held in awe by the whiſtling of a name. Sovereignty muſt have power to protect all the parts which compoſe and conſtitute it; and as *United States*, we are equal to the importance of the title, but otherwiſe we are not. Our union, well and wiſely regulated and cemented, is the cheapeſt way of being great—the eaſieſt way of being powerful—and the happieſt invention in government which the circumſtances of America can admit of; becauſe it collects from each State that which, by being inadequate, can be of no uſe to it, and forms an aggregate that ſerves for all.

The States of Holland are an unfortunate inſtance of the effects of individual

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While I was writing this note, I caſt my eye on the pamphlet *Common Senſe*, from which I ſhall make an extract, as it applies exactly to the caſe. It is as follows:

"I have never met with a man, either in England or America, who hath "not confeſſed his opinion, that a ſeparation between the countries would take "place one time or other: and there is no inſtance in which we have ſhewn "leſs judgement, than endeavouring to deſcribe, what we call, the ripeneſs or "fitneſs of the Continent for Independence.

"As all men allow the meaſure, and differ only in their opinion of the time, "let us, in order to remove miſtakes, take a general ſurvey of things, and en"deavour, if poſſible, to find out the *very time*. But we need not go far; the in"quiry ceaſes at once, for *the time hath found us*. The general concurrence, "the glorious union of all things, prove the fact.

"It is not in numbers, but in an union, that our great ſtrength lies. The "Continent is juſt arrived at the pitch of ſtrength, in which no ſingle colony "is able to ſupport itſelf, and the whole, when united, can accompliſh the "matter: and either more or leſs than this, might be fatal in its effects."

Pamphlet, Common Senſe.

ſovereignty

ſovereignty. Their disjointed condition expoſes them to numerous intrigues, loſſes, calamities, and enemies, and the almoſt impoſſibility of bringing their meaſures to a deciſion, and that deciſion into execution, is to them, and would be to us, a ſource of endleſs misfortune.

It is with confederate ſtates as with individuals in ſociety; ſomething muſt be yielded up, to make the whole ſecure. In this view of things we gain by what we give, and draw an annual intereſt greater than the capital. I ever feel myſelf hurt, when I hear the Union, that great palladium of our liberty and ſafety the leaſt irreverently ſpoken of. It is the moſt ſacred thing in the conſtitution of America, and that which every man ſhould be the moſt proud and tender of. Our citizenſhip in the United States is our national character: our citizenſhip in any particular State is only our local diſtinction. By the latter we are known at home; by the former to the world. Our great title is *Americans*; our inferior one varies with the place.

So far as my endeavours could go, they have all been directed to conciliate the affections, unite the intereſts, and draw and keep the mind of the country together; and the better to aſſiſt in this foundation-work of the Revolution, I have avoided all places of profit or office, either in the State I live in, or in the United States; kept myſelf at a diſtance from all parties and party connections, and even diſregarded all private and inferior concerns: and when we take into view the great work we have gone through, and feel, as we ought to feel, the juſt importance of it, we ſhall then ſee, that the little wranglings and indecent contentions of perſonal party are as diſhonourable to our characters, as they are injurious to our repoſe.

It was the cauſe of America that made me an author. The force with which it ſtruck my mind, and the dangerous condition the country appeared to me in, by courting an impoſſible and unnatural reconciliation with thoſe who were determined to reduce her, inſtead of ſtriking out into the only line that could ſave her, *A Declaration of Independence*—made it impoſſible for me, feeling as I did, to be ſilent: and if, in the courſe of more than ſeven years, I have rendered her any ſervice, I have likewiſe added ſomething to the reputation of literature, by freely and diſintereſtedly employing it in the great cauſe of mankind, and ſhewing there may be genius without proſtitution.

Independence always appeared to me practicable and probable, provided the ſentiment of the country could be formed and held to the object: and there is no inſtance in the world, where a people ſo extended, and wedded to former habits of thinking, and under ſuch a variety of circumſtances, were ſo inſtantly and effectually pervaded, by a turn in politics, as in the caſe of Independence, and who ſupported their opinion, undiminiſhed, through ſuch a ſucceſſion of good and ill fortune, till they crowned it with ſucceſs.

But as the ſcenes of war are cloſed, and every man preparing for home and happier times, I therefore take my leave of the ſubject. I have moſt ſincerely followed it from beginning to end, and through all its turns and windings: and whatever country I may hereafter be in, I ſhall always feel an honeſt pride at the part I have taken and acted, and a gratitude to Nature and Providence for putting it in my power to be of ſome uſe to mankind.

THOMAS PAINE.

Philadelphia, April 19, 1783.

FIRST LETTER

TO

MR. SECRETARY DUNDAS.

SIR, *London, June 6, 1792.*

AS you opened the debate in the Houſe of Commons, May 25th, on the Proclamation for ſuppreſſing publications, which that proclamation (without naming any) calls wicked and ſeditious, and as you applied thoſe opprobrious epithets to the works entitled "RIGHTS OF MAN," I think it unneceſſary to offer any other reaſon for addreſſing this letter to you.

I begin, then, at once, by declaring that I do not believe there are to be found in the writings of any author, ancient or modern, on the ſubject of government, a ſpirit of greater benignity, and a ſtronger inculcation of moral principles, than in thoſe which I have publiſhed. They come, Sir, from a man, who, by having lived in different countries, and under different ſyſtems of government, and who, being intimate in the conſtruction of them, is a better judge of the ſubject than it is poſſible that you, from the want of thoſe opportunities, can be:—And, beſides this, they come from an heart that knows not how to beguile.

I will farther ſay, that when that moment arrives in which the beſt conſolation that ſhall be left will be that of looking back on ſome paſt actions, more virtuous, more meritorious, than the reſt, I ſhall then with happineſs remember, among other things, I have written the RIGHTS OF MAN.—As to what proclamations, or proſecutions, or place-men, or place-expectants—thoſe who poſſeſs, or thoſe who are gaping for office, may ſay of them, it will not alter their character, either with the world or with me.

Having, Sir, made this declaration, I ſhall proceed to remark, not particularly upon your own ſpeech on that occaſion, but on any other ſpeech to which your motion on that day gave riſe; and I ſhall begin with that of Mr. ADAM.

This Gentleman accuſes me of *not* having done the very thing that *I have done*, and which, he ſays, if I *had* done, he ſhould not have accuſed me.

Mr. ADAM, in his ſpeech, (ſee the Morning Chronicle of May 26,) ſays, "That he had well conſidered the ſubject of Conſtitutional Publications, and "was by no means ready to ſay (but the contrary) that books of ſcience upon "government, though recommending a doctrine or ſyſtem different from the "form of our conſtitution, (meaning that of England) were fit objects of proſecution; that if he did, he muſt condemn (which he meant not to do) HARRINGTON for his Oceana, Sir THOMAS MORE for his Eutopia, and HUME "for his Idea of a perfect Commonwealth. But, (continued Mr. Adam,) the "publication of Mr. PAINE was very different; for it reviled what was *moſt ſacred* in the conſtitution, deſtroyed every principle of ſubordination, and *eſtabliſhed nothing in their room.*"

I readily perceive that Mr. ADAM had not read the *Second* Part of *Rights of Man*, and I am put under the neceſſity, either of ſubmitting to an erroneous charge, or of juſtifying myſelf againſt it; and I certainly ſhall prefer the latter.—If, then, I ſhall prove to Mr. ADAM, that, in my reaſoning upon ſyſtems of government in the Second Part of *Rights of Man*, I have ſhewn as clearly, I think, as words can convey ideas, a certain ſyſtem of government, and that not exiſting in theory only, but already in full and eſtabliſhed practice, and ſyſtematically

matically and practically free from all the vices and defects of Engliſh government, and capable of producing more happineſs to the people, and that alſo with an eightieth part of the taxes, which the preſent ſyſtem of Engliſh government conſumes; I hope he will do me the juſtice, when he next goes to the Houſe, to get up and confeſs he had been miſtaken in ſaying, that I had *eſtabliſhed nothing, and that I had deſtroyed every principle of ſubordination.* Having thus opened the caſe, I now come to the point.

In the Second Part of RIGHTS OF MAN, I have diſtinguiſhed government into two claſſes or ſyſtems; the one the hereditary ſyſtem, the other the repreſentative ſyſtem.

In the Firſt Part of *Rights of Man,* I have endeavoured to ſhew, and I challenge any man to refute it, that there does not exiſt a right to eſtabliſh hereditary government; or, in other words, hereditary governors; becauſe hereditary government always means a government yet to come, and the caſe always is, that the people who are to live afterwards, have always the ſame right to chooſe a government for themſelves, as the people had who lived before them.

In the Second Part of *Rights of Man,* I have not repeated thoſe arguments, becauſe they are irrefutable; but have confined myſelf to ſhew the defects of what is called hereditary government, or hereditary ſucceſſion, that it muſt, from the nature of it, throw government into the hands of men totally unworthy of it, from want of principle, or unfitted for it from want of capacity.—James the IId. is recorded as an inſtance of the firſt of theſe caſes; and inſtances are to be found almoſt all over Europe to prove the truth of the latter.

To ſhew the abſurdity of the Hereditary Syſtem ſtill more ſtrongly, I will now put the following caſe:—Take any fifty men promiſcuouſly, and it will be very extraordinary, if out of that number, one man ſhould be found, whoſe principles and talents taken together (for ſome might have principles, and others might have talents) would render him a perſon truly fitted to fill any very extraordinary office of National Truſt. If, then, ſuch a fitneſs of character could not be expected to be found in more than one perſon out of fifty, it would happen but once in a thouſand years to the eldeſt ſon of any one family, admitting each, on an average, to hold the office twenty years. Mr. Adam talks of ſomething in the Conſtitution which he calls *moſt ſacred*; but I hope he does not mean hereditary ſucceſſion, a thing which appears to me a violation of every order of nature, and of common ſenſe.

When I look into hiſtory, and ſee the multitudes of men, otherwiſe virtuous, who have died, and their families been ruined, in the defence of knaves and fools, and which they would not have done, had they reaſoned at all upon the ſyſtem; I do not know a greater good that an individual can render to mankind, than to endeavour to break the chains of political ſuperſtition. Thoſe chains are now diſſolving faſt, and proclamations and proſecutions will ſerve but to haſten that diſſolution.

Having thus ſpoken of the Hereditary Syſtem as a bad Syſtem, and ſubject to every poſſible defect, I now come to the Repreſentative Syſtem, and this Mr. Adam will find ſtated in the Second Part of Rights of Man, not only as the beſt, but as the only *Theory* of Government under which the liberties of the people can be permanently ſecure.

But it is needleſs now to talk of mere theory, ſince there is already a government in full practice, eſtabliſhed upon that theory; or, in other words, upon the Rights of Man, and has been ſo for almoſt twenty years. Mr. Pitt, in a ſpeech of his ſome ſhort time ſince, ſaid, "That there never did, and never "could exiſt a Government eſtabliſhed upon thoſe Rights, and that if it began "at noon, it would end at night." Mr. Pitt is not yet arrived at the degree of a ſchool-boy in this ſpecies of knowledge; his practice has been confined to the means of *extorting revenue,* and his boaſt has been—*how much?* Whereas,

the boaſt of the ſyſtem of government that I am ſpeaking of, is not how much, but how little.

The ſyſtem of government purely repreſentative, unmixed with any thing of hereditary nonſenſe, began in America. I will now compare the effects of that ſyſtem of government with the ſyſtem of government in England, both during, and ſince the cloſe of the war.

So powerful is the Repreſentative ſyſtem, firſt, by combining and conſolidating all the parts of a country together, however great the extent; and ſecondly, by admitting of none but men properly qualified into the government, or diſmiſſing them if they prove to be otherwiſe, that America was enabled thereby totally to defeat and overthrow all the ſchemes and projects of the hereditary government of England againſt her. As the eſtabliſhment of the Revolution and Independence of America is a proof of this fact, it is needleſs to enlarge upon it.

I now come to the comparative effect of the two ſyſtems *ſince* the cloſe of the war, and I requeſt Mr. Adam to attend to it.

America had internally ſuſtained the ravage of upwards of ſeven years of war, which England had not. England ſuſtained only the expence of the war; whereas America ſuſtained, not only the expence, but the deſtruction of property committed by *both* armies. Not a houſe was built during that period, and many thouſands were deſtroyed. The farms and plantations along the coaſt of the country, for more than a thouſand miles, were laid waſte. Her commerce was annihilated. Her ſhips were either taken, or had rotted within her own harbours. The credit of her funds had fallen upwards of ninety per cent. that is, an original hundred pounds would not ſell for ten pounds. In fine, ſhe was apparently put back an hundred years when the war cloſed, which was not the caſe with England.

But ſuch was the event, that the ſame repreſentative ſyſtem of government, though ſince better organized, which enabled her to conquer, enabled her alſo to recover, and ſhe now preſents a more flouriſhing condition, and a more happy and harmonized ſociety, under that ſyſtem of government, than any country in the world can boaſt under any other. Her towns are rebuilt, much better than before; her farms and plantations are in higher improvement than ever; her commerce is ſpread over the world, and her funds have riſen from leſs than ten pounds the hundred to upwards of one hundred and twenty. Mr. Pitt, and his colleagues, talk of the things that have happened in his boyiſh adminiſtration, without knowing what greater things have happened elſewhere, and under other ſyſtems of government.

I next come to ſtate the expence of the two ſyſtems, as they now ſtand in each of the countries; but it may firſt be proper to obſerve, that government in America is what it ought to be, a matter of honour and truſt, and not made a trade for the purpoſe of lucre.

The whole amount of the nett taxes in England (excluſive of the expence of collection, of drawbacks, of ſeizures and condemnation, of fines and penalties, of fees of office, of litigations and informers, which are ſome of the bleſſed means of enforcing them) is, ſeventeen millions. Of this ſum, about nine millions go for the payment of the intereſt of the national debt, and the remainder, being about eight millions, is for the current annual expences. Thus much for one ſide of the caſe. I now come to the other.

The expence of all the ſeveral departments of the general Repreſentative Government of the United States of America, extending over a ſpace of country nearly ten times larger than England, is two hundred aud ninety-four thouſand, five hundred and fifty-eight dollars, which, at 4s. 6d. per dollar, is 66,275l. 11s. ſterling, and is thus apportioned.

Expence

Expence of the Executive Department.

	£.	s.
The Office of the Preſidency, at which the Preſident receives nothing for himſelf — — —	5,625	0
Vice Preſident — — — —	1,125	0
Chief Juſtice — — — — —	900	0
Five aſſociate Juſtices — — — —	3,937	10
Nineteen Judges of Diſtricts and Attorney General — —	6,873	15

Legiſlative Department.

Members of Congreſs, at ſix dollars (1l. 7s.) per day, their Secretaries, Clerks, Chaplains, Meſſengers, Door-keepers, &c.	25,515	0

Treaſury Department.

Secretary Aſſiſtant, Comptroller, Auditor, Treaſurer, Regiſter, and Loan-Office-Keeper, in each State, together with all neceſſary Clerks, Office-Keeper, &c. — — —	12,825	0

Department of State, including Foreign Affairs.

Secretary, Clerks, &c. &c. — — —	1,406	5

Department of War.

Secretary, Clerks, Paymaſters, Commiſſioners, &c. —	1,462	10

Commiſſioners for ſettling Old Accounts.

The whole Board, Clerks, &c. — — —	2,598	15

Incidental and Contingent Expences.

For Fire-wood, Stationary, Printing, &c. —	4,006	16
Total —	66,275	11

On account of the incurſions of the Indians on the back ſettlements, Congreſs is, at this time, obliged to keep ſix thouſand militia in pay, in addition to a regiment of foot, and a battalion of artillery, which it always keeps; and this increaſes the expence of the War Department to 390,000 dollars, which is 87,795l. ſterling; but when peace ſhall be concluded with the Indians, the greateſt part of this expence will ceaſe, and the total amount of the expence of government, including that of the army, will not amount to one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, which, as has been already ſtated, is but an eightieth part of the expences of the Engliſh government.

I requeſt Mr. Adam and Mr. Dundas, and all thoſe who are talking of Conſtitutions, and bleſſings, and Kings, and Lords, and the Lord knows what, to look at this ſtatement. Here is a form and ſyſtem of government, that is better organized and better adminiſtered than any government in the world, and that for leſs than one hundred thouſand pounds per annum, and yet every Member of Congreſs receives, as a compenſation for his time and attendance on public buſineſs, one pound ſeven ſhillings per day, which is at the rate of nearly five hundred pounds a year.

This is a government that has nothing to fear. It needs no proclamations to deter people from writing and reading. It needs no political ſuperſtition to ſupport it; it was by encouraging diſcuſſion, and rendering the preſs free upon all ſubjects of government, that the principles of government became underſtood in America, and the people are now enjoying the preſent bleſſings under it. You hear of no riots, tumults, and diſorders in that country; becauſe there exiſts no cauſe to produce them. Thoſe things are never the effect of Freedom, but of reſtraint, oppreſſion, and exceſſive taxation.

In

In America there is not that clafs of poor and wretched people that are ſo numerouſly diſperſed all over England, and who are to be told by a proclamation that they are happy; and this is in a great meaſure to be accounted for, not by the difference of proclamations, but by the difference of governments and the difference of taxes between that country and this. What the labouring people of that country earn they apply to their own uſe, and to the education of their children, and do not pay it away in taxes as faſt as they earn it, to ſupport Court extravagance, and a long enormous liſt of place-men and penſioners; and beſides this, they have learned the manly doctrine of reverencing themſelves, and conſequently of reſpecting each other; and they laugh at thoſe imaginary beings called Kings and Lords, and all the fraudulent trumpery of Courts.

When place-men and penſioners, or thoſe who expect to be ſuch, are laviſh in praiſe of a government, it is not a ſign of its being a good one. The penſion liſt alone, in England, (ſee Sir John Sinclair's Hiſtory of the Revenue, page 6, of the Appendix) is one hundred and ſeven thouſand four hundred and four pounds, *which is more than the expences of the whole Government of America amount to.* And I am now more convinced than before, that the offer that was made to me of a thouſand pounds, for the copy-right of the ſecond part of the *Rights of Man*, together with the remaining copy-right of the firſt part, was to have effected, by a quick ſuppreſſion, what is now attempted to be done by a proſecution. The connection which the perſon, who made that offer, has with the King's printing-office, may furniſh part of the means of inquiring into this affair, when the Miniſtry ſhall pleaſe to bring their proſecution to an iſſue. But to return to my ſubject.—

I have ſaid, in the ſecond part of the *Rights of Man*, and I repeat it here, that the ſervice of any man, whether called King, Preſident, Senator, Legiſlator, or any thing elſe, cannot be worth more to any country, in the regular routine of office, than ten thouſand pounds per annum. We have a better man in America, and more of a gentleman, than any King I ever knew of, who does not occaſion even half that expence; for, though the ſalary is fixed at five thouſand two hundred and ſixty-five pounds, he does not accept it, and it is only the incidental expences that are paid out of it. The name by which a man is called is, of itſelf, but an empty thing. It is worth and character alone which can render him valuable, for without theſe, Kings, and Lords, and Preſidents, are but jingling names.

But without troubling myſelf about Conſtitutions of Government, I have ſhewn in the Second Part of *Rights of Man*, that an alliance may be formed between England, France, and America, and that the expences of government in England may be put back to one million and a half, viz.

Civil expence of Government —	£ 500,000
Army — —	500,000
Navy — — —	500,000
	1,500,000

And even this ſum is fifteen times greater than the expences of government are in America; and it is alſo greater than the whole peace-eſtabliſhment of England amounted to about an hundred years ago. So much has the weight and oppreſſion of taxes increaſed ſince the Revolution, and eſpecially ſince the year 1714.

To ſhew that the ſum of 500,000l. is ſufficient to defray all the civil expences of government, I have, in that work, annexed the following eſtimate for any country of the ſame extent as England.—

In the firſt place, three hundred Repreſentatives, fairly elected, are ſufficient for all the purpoſes to which Legiſlation can apply, and preferable to a larger number.

If,

If, then, an allowance, at the rate of five hundred pounds per ann. be made to every Repreſentative, deducting for non-attendance, the expence, if the whole number attended ſix months each year, would be — — £.75,000

The Official Departments could not poſſibly exceed the following number, with the ſalaries annexed, viz.

Three offices,	at 10,000l. each	—	30,000
Ten ditto, —	at 5,000l. each,	—	50,000
Twenty ditto, —	at 2,000l. each,	—	40,000
Forty ditto, —	at 1,000l. each,	—	40,000
Two hundred ditto,	at 500l. each,	—	100,000
Three hundred ditto,	at 200l. each,	—	60,000
Five hundred ditto,	at 100l. each.	—	50,000
Seven hundred ditto,	at 75l. each,	—	52,500
			£.497,500

If a nation choſe, it might deduct four per cent. from all the offices, and make one of twenty thouſand pounds per annum, and ſtyle the perſon who ſhould fill it, King, or Majeſty, (or Madjeſty) or give him any other title.

Taking, however, this ſum of one million and half as an abundant ſupply for all the expences of government under any form whatever, there will remain a ſurplus of nearly ſix millions and a half out of the preſent taxes, after paying the intereſt of the national debt; and I have ſhewn, in the Second Part of *Rights of Man*, what appears to me the beſt mode of applying the ſurplus money; for I am now ſpeaking of expences and ſavings, and not of ſyſtems of government.

I have, in the firſt place, eſtimated the poor-rates at two millions annually, and ſhewn that the firſt effectual ſtep would be to aboliſh the poor-rates entirely, (which would be a ſaving of two millions to the houſe-keepers) and to remit four millions out of the ſurplus taxes to the poor, to be paid them in money, in proportion to the number of children in each family, and the number of aged perſons.

I have eſtimated the number of perſons of both ſexes in England, of fifty years of age and upwards, at 420,000, and have taken one third of this number, viz. 140,000, to be poor people.

To ſave long calculations, I have taken 70,000 of them to be upwards of fifty years of age and under ſixty, and the other to be ſixty years and upwards; and to allow ſix pounds per ann. to the former claſs, and ten pounds per ann. to the latter. The expence of which will be,

Seventy thouſand perſons, at 6l. per ann.	—	420,000
Seventy thouſand perſons, at 10l. per ditto,	—	700,000
		£.1,120,000

There will then remain of the four millions 2,880,000l. I have ſtated two different methods of appropriating this money. The one is to pay it in proportion to the number of children in each family, at the rate of three or four pounds per ann. for each child; the other is, to apportion it according to the expence of living in different countries; but in either of theſe caſes it would, together with the allowance to be made to the aged, completely take off taxes from one-third of all the families in England, beſides relieving all the other families from the burthen of poor-rates.

The whole number of families in England, lotting five ſouls to each family, is one million four hundred thouſand, of which I take one third, viz. 466,666 to be poor families, who now pay four millions of taxes, and that the pooreſt

pays

pays at leaſt four guineas a year; and that the other thirteen millions are paid by the other two-thirds. The plan, therefore as ſtated in the work is, firſt, to remit or repay, as is already ſtated, this ſum of four millions, to the poor, becauſe it is impoſſible to ſeparate them from the others in the preſent mode of collecting taxes on articles of conſumption; and, ſecondly, to aboliſh the poor-rates, the houſe and window-light tax, and to change the commutation tax into a progreſſive tax on large eſtates, the particulars of all which are ſet forth in the work, and to which I deſire Mr. Adam to refer for particulars. I ſhall here content myſelf with ſaying, that to a town of the population of Mancheſter, it will make a difference in its favour, compared with the preſent ſtate of things, of upwards of fifty thouſand pounds annually, and ſo in proportion to all other places throughout the nation. This certainly is of more conſequence, than that the ſame ſums ſhould be collected to be afterwards ſpent by riotous and profligate courtiers, and in nightly revels at the Star and Garter tavern, Pall-Mall.

I will conclude this part of my letter with an extract from the Second Part of *Rights of Man*, which Mr. Dundas (a man rolling in luxury, at the expence of the nation) has branded with the epithet of "wicked."

"By the operation of this plan, the poor-laws, thoſe inſtruments of civil "torture, will be ſuperſeded, and the waſteful expence of litigation prevented. "The hearts of the humane will not be ſhocked by ragged and hungry "children, and perſons of ſeventy and eighty years of age begging for bread. "The dying poor will not be dragged from place to place to breathe their "laſt, as a repriſal of pariſh upon pariſh. Widows will have a maintenance for their children, and not be carted away, on the death of their "huſbands, like culprits and criminals; and children will no longer be conſidered as increaſing the diſtreſſes of their parents. The haunts of the "wretched will be known, becauſe it will be to their advantage, and the "number of petty crimes, the offſpring of poverty and diſtreſs, will be leſſened. The poor, as well as the rich, will then be intereſted in the ſupport of Government, and the cauſe and apprehenſions of riots and tumults "will ceaſe. Ye who ſit in eaſe, and ſolace yourſelves in plenty, and ſuch "there are in Turkey and Ruſſia, as well as in England, and who ſay to yourſelves, *are we not well off?* have ye thought of theſe things? When ye "do, ye will ceaſe to ſpeak and feel for yourſelves alone."—Rights of Man, Part II. p. 136.

After this remiſſion of four millions be made, and the poor-rates and houſe and window-light tax be aboliſhed, and the commutation tax changed, there will ſtill remain nearly one million and a half of ſurplus taxes; and as by an alliance between England, France, and America, armies and navies will, in a great meaſure, be rendered unneceſſary; and as men who have either been brought up in, or long habited to, thoſe lines of life, are ſtill citizens of a nation in common with the reſt, and have a right to participate in all plans of national benefit, it is ſtated in that work (Rights of Man, Part II.) to apply annually 507,000l. out of the ſurplus taxes to this purpoſe, in the following manner:—

To fifteen thouſand diſbanded ſoldiers, 3s. per week (clear of deduction) during life — — —	117,000
Additional pay to the remaining ſoldiers, *per ann.* — —	19,500
To the officers of the diſbanded corps, during life, the ſame ſum of	117,000
To fifteen thouſand diſbanded ſailors, 3s. per week, during life	117,000
Additional pay to the remaining ſailors — — —	19,500
To the officers of the diſbanded part of the navy, during life	117,000
£.	507,000

The

The limits to which it is proper to confine this letter, will not admit of my entering into further particulars. I addreſs it to Mr. Dundas, becauſe he took the lead in the debate, and he wiſhes, I ſuppoſe, to appear conſpicuous; but the purport of it is to juſtify myſelf from the charge which Mr. Adam has made.

This Gentleman, as has been obſerved in the beginning of this letter, conſiders the writers of Harrington, Moore, and Hume, as juſtifiable and legal publications, becauſe they reaſoned by compariſon, though, in ſo doing, they ſhewed plans and ſyſtems of government, not only different from, but preferable to, that of England; and he accuſes me of endeavouring to confuſe, inſtead of producing a ſyſtem in the room of that which I had reaſoned againſt; whereas, the fact is, that I have not only reaſoned by compariſon of the repreſentative ſyſtem againſt the hereditary ſyſtem, but I have gone farther—for I have produced an inſtance of a government eſtabliſhed entirely on the repreſentative ſyſtem, under which much greater happineſs is enjoyed, much fewer taxes required, and much higher credit is eſtabliſhed, than under the ſyſtem of Government in England. The funds in England have riſen ſince the war only from 54l. to 97l. and they have been down ſince the proclamation, to 87l. whereas the funds in America roſe in the mean time from 10l. to 120l. His charge againſt me "of deſtroying every principle of ſubordination," is equally as groundleſs, which even a ſingle paragraph of the work will prove, and which I ſhall here quote—

"Formerly, when diviſions aroſe reſpecting Governments, recourſe was had "to the ſword, and a civil war enſued. That ſavage cuſtom is exploded by "the new ſyſtem, and *recourſe is had to a national convention.* Diſcuſſion, and "the general will, arbitrates the queſtion, and to this private opinion yields "with a good grace, and *order is preſerved uninterrupted.*"—Rights of Man, Part II. p. 173.

That two different charges ſhould be brought at the ſame time, the one by a Member of the Legiſlative for *not* doing a certain thing, and the other by the Attorney General, for *doing* it, is a ſtrange jumble of contradictions. I have now juſtified myſelf, or the work rather, againſt the firſt, by ſtating the caſe in this letter, and the juſtification of the other will be undertaken in its proper place. But in any caſe the work will go on.

I ſhall now conclude this letter with ſaying, that the only objection I found againſt the plan and principles contained in the Second Part of *Rights of Man*, when I had written the book, was, that they would beneficially intereſt at leaſt ninety-nine perſons out of every hundred throughout the nation, and therefore would not leave ſufficient room for men to act from the direct and diſintereſted principle of honour; but the proſecution now commenced has fortunately removed that objection, and the approvers and protectors of that work now feel the immediate impulſe of honour added to that of national intereſt.

I am, Mr. Dundas,
Not your obedient humble Servant,
But the contrary,
THOMAS PAINE.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

TO

ONSLOW CRANLEY,

OR THE

CHAIRMAN

WHO SHALL PRESIDE AT THE MEETING TO BE HELD AT EPSOM, JULY 18.

London, June 17th, 1792.

SIR,

I HAVE seen in the public newspapers the following advertisement, to wit—

" To the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and other Inhabitants of " the county of Surry.

" At the requisition and desire of several of the freeholders of the county, " I am, in the absence of the Sheriff, to desire the favour of your attendance, " at a meeting to be held at Epsom, on Monday, the 18th inst. at twelve " o'clock, to consider of an humble address to his Majesty, to express our " grateful approbation of his Majesty's paternal and well-timed attention to the " public welfare, in his late most gracious Proclamation against the enemies of " our happy Constitution.

(Signed) " ONSLOW CRANLEY."

Taking it for granted, that the aforesaid advertisement, equally as obscure as the proclamation to which it refers, has nevertheless some meaning, and is intended to effect some purpose; and as prosecution, (whether wisely or unwisely, justly or unjustly) is already commenced against a work, intitled, RIGHTS OF MAN, of which I have the honour and happiness to be the author; I feel it necessary to address this letter to you, and to request that it may be read publicly to the gentlemen who shall meet at Epsom in consequence of the advertisement.

The work now under prosecution is, I conceive, the same work which is intended to be suppressed by the aforesaid proclamation. Admitting this to be the case, the gentlemen of the county of Surry are called upon by somebody to condemn a work, and they are at the same time forbidden by the proclamation to know what that work is; and they are farther called upon to give their aid and assistance to prevent other people from knowing it also. It is therefore necessary that the author, for his own justification, as well as to prevent the gentlemen who shall meet from being imposed upon by misrepresentation, should give some outlines of the principles and plans which that work contains.

The work, Sir, in queſtion, contains, firſt, an inveſtigation of general principles of government.

It alſo diſtinguiſhes government into two claſſes or ſyſtems, the one the hereditary ſyſtem—the other the repreſentative ſyſtem; and it compares theſe two ſyſtems with each other.

It ſhews, that what is called hereditary government cannot exiſt as a matter of right; becauſe hereditary government always means a government yet to come; and the caſe always is, that thoſe who are to live afterwards have always the ſame right to eſtabliſh a government for themſelves, as the people who had lived before them.

It alſo ſhews the defect to which hereditary government is unavoidably ſubject: that it muſt, from the nature of it, throw government into the hands of men totally unworthy of it from the want of principle, or unfitted for it from want of capacity. James the IId. and many others are recorded in the Engliſh hiſtory, as proofs of the former of thoſe caſes, and inſtances are to be found almoſt over Europe, to prove the truth of the latter.

It then ſhews that the repreſentative ſyſtem is the only true ſyſtem of government; that it is alſo the only ſyſtem under which the liberties of any people can be permanently ſecure; and farther, that it is the only one that can continue the ſame equal probability at all times of admitting of none but men properly qualified, both by principles and abilities, into government, and of excluding ſuch as are otherwiſe.

The work ſhews alſo, by plans and calculations not hitherto denied nor controverted, not even by the proſecution that is commenced, that the taxes now exiſting may be reduced at leaſt ſix millions, that taxes may be entirely taken off from the poor, who are computed at one third of the nation; and that taxes on the other two thirds may be conſiderably reduced—that the aged poor may be comfortably provided for, and the children of poor families properly educated—that fifteen thouſand ſoldiers, and the ſame number of ſailors, may be diſbanded and allowed three ſhillings per week during life, out of the ſurplus taxes; and alſo that a proportionate allowance may be made to the officers, and the pay of the remaining ſoldiers and ſailors be increaſed; and that it is better to apply the ſurplus taxes to thoſe purpoſes than to conſume them upon lazy and profligate placemen and penſioners; and that the revenue, ſaid to be twenty thouſand pounds per annum, raiſed by a tax upon coals, and given to the Duke of Richmond, is a groſs impoſition upon all the people of London, ought to be inſtantly aboliſhed.

This, Sir, is a conciſe abſtract of the principles and plans contained in the work that is now proſecuted, and for the ſuppreſſion of which the proclamation appears to be intended; but as it is impoſſible that I can, in the compaſs of a letter, bring into view all the matters contained in the work; and as it is proper that the gentlemen who may compoſe that meeting ſhould know what the merits or demerits of it are, before they come to any reſolutions, either directly or indirectly, relating thereto, I requeſt the honour of preſenting them with one hundred copies of the ſecond part of the Rights of Man, and alſo one thouſand copies of my letter to Mr. Dundas, which I have directed to be ſent to Epſom for that purpoſe; and I beg the favour of the Chairman to take the trouble of preſenting them to the gentlemen who ſhall meet on that occaſion, with my ſincere wiſhes for their happineſs, and for that of the nation in general.

Having now cloſed thus much of the ſubject of my letter, I next come to ſpeak of what has relation to me perſonally. I am well aware of the delicacy that attends it, but the purpoſe of calling the meeting appears to me ſo inconſiſtent with that juſtice that is always due between man and man, that it is proper I ſhould (as well on account of the gentlemen who may meet, as on my own account) explain myſelf fully and candidly thereon.

I have already informed the gentlemen, that a profecution is commenced againſt a work, of which I have the honour and happineſs to be the author; and I gave good reaſons for believing that the proclamation which the gentlemen are called to conſider, and to preſent an addreſs upon, is purpoſely calculated to give an impreſſion to the Jury before whom that matter is to come. In ſhort, that it is dictating a verdict by proclamation; and I conſider the inſtigators of the meeting to be held at Epſom, as aiding and abetting the ſame improper, and in my opinion illegal purpoſe, and that in a manner very artfully contrived, as I ſhall now ſhew.

Had a meeting been called of the Freeholders of the county of Middleſex, the gentlemen who had compoſed that meeting would have rendered themſelves objectionable as perſons to ſerve on a Jury before whom the judicial caſe was afterwards to come. But by calling a meeting out of the county of Middleſex, that matter is artfully avoided, and the gentlemen of Surry are ſummoned, as if it were intended thereby to give a tone to the fort of verdict which the inſtigators of the meeting, no doubt, with ſhould be brought in, and to give countenance to the Jury in ſo doing.

I am, SIR,

With much reſpect to

The Gentlemen who ſhall meet,

Their and your obedient humble Servant,

THOMAS PAINE.

TO

ONSLOW CRANLEY,

COMMONLY CALLED

LORD ONSLOW.

London, June 21, 1792.

SIR,

WHEN I wrote you the letter which Mr. Horne Tooke did me the favour to preſent to you, as Chairman of the meeting held at Epſom, Monday, June 18th, it was not with much expectation that you would do me the juſtice of permitting, or recommending it to be publicly read. I am well aware that the ſignature of Thomas Paine has ſomething in it dreadful to ſinecure Placemen and Penſioners; and when you, on ſeeing the letter opened, informed the meeting that it was ſigned Thomas Paine, and added, in a note of exclamation, "the common enemy of us all!" you ſpoke one of the greateſt truths you ever uttered, if you confine the expreſſion to men of the ſame deſcription with yourſelf; men living in indolence and luxury, on the ſpoil and labours of the public.

The letter has ſince appeared in the Argus, and probably in other papers. It will juſtify itſelf; but if any thing on that account hath been wanting, your own conduct at the meeting would have ſupplied the omiſſion. You there ſufficiently proved that I was not miſtaken in ſuppoſing that the meeting was called to give an indirect aid to the proſecution commenced againſt a work, the reputation of which will long outlive the memory of the Penſioner I am writing to.

When meetings, Sir, are called by the partiſans of the Court, to preclude the nation the right of inveſtigating ſyſtems and principles of government, and of expoſing errors and defects, under the pretence of proſecuting an individual—it furniſhes an additional motive for maintaining ſacred that violated right.

The principles and arguments contained in the work in queſtion, RIGHTS OF MAN, have ſtood, and they now ſtand, and I believe ever will ſtand, unrefuted. They are ſtated in a fair and open manner to the world, and they have already received the public approbation of a greater number of men, of the beſt of characters, of every denomination of religion, and of every rank in life, (placemen and penſioners excepted) than all the juries that ſhall meet in England, for ten years to come, will amount to; and I have, moreover, good reaſons for believing, that the approvers of that work, as well private as public, are already more numerous than all the preſent electors throughout the nation.

Not leſs than forty pamphlets, intended as anſwers thereto, have appeared, and as ſuddenly diſappeared: ſcarcely are the titles of any of them remembered, notwithſtanding their endeavours have been aided by all the daily abuſe which the Court and Miniſterial newſpapers, for almoſt a year and a half, could beſtow, both upon the work and the author; and now that every attempt to refute, and every abuſe has failed, the invention of calling the work a libel has been hit upon, and the diſcomfited party has puſillanimouſly retreated to proſecution and a jury, and obſcure addreſſes.

As I well know that a long letter from me will not be agreeable to you, I will relieve your uneaſineſs by making it as ſhort as I conveniently can; and will conclude it with taking up the ſubject at that part where Mr. HORNE TOOKE was interrupted from going on when at the meeting.

That Gentleman was ſtating, that the ſituation you ſtood in rendered it improper for you to appear *actively* in a ſcene in which your private intereſt was too viſible: that you were a Bedchamber Lord at a thouſand a year, and a Penſioner at three thouſand pounds a year more—and here he was ſtopped by the little, but noiſy circle you had collected round. Permit me, then, Sir, to add an explanation to his words, for the benefit of your neighbours, and with which, and a few obſervations, I ſhall cloſe my letter.

When it was reported in the Engliſh Newſpapers, ſome ſhort time ſince, that the Empreſs of RUSSIA had given to one of her minions a large tract of country, and ſeveral thouſands of peaſants as property, it very juſtly provoked indignation and abhorrence in thoſe who heard it. But if we compare the mode practiſed in England, with that which appears to us ſo abhorrent in Ruſſia, it will be found to amount to very near the ſame thing;—for example—

As the whole of the revenue in England is drawn by taxes from the pockets of the people, thoſe things called gifts and grants, (of which kind are all penſions and ſinecure places) are paid out of that ſtock. The difference, therefore, between the two modes is, that in England the money is collected by the government, and then given to the Penſioner, and in Ruſſia he is left to collect it for himſelf. The ſmalleſt ſum which the pooreſt family in a county ſo near London as Surrey, can be ſuppoſed to pay annually of taxes, is not leſs than five pounds; and as your ſinecure of one thouſand, and penſion of three thouſand per annum, are made up of taxes paid by eight hundred ſuch poor families, it comes to the ſame thing as if the eight hundred families had been given to you, as in Ruſſia, and you had collected the money on your account. Were you to ſay that you are not quartered particularly on the people of Surrey, but on the nation at large, the objection would amount to nothing; for as there are more penſioners than counties, every one may be conſidered as quartered on that in which he lives.

What honour or happineſs you can derive from being the PRINCIPAL PAUPER of the neighbourhood, and occaſioning a greater expence than the poor, the

aged, and the infirm, for ten miles round you, I leave you to enjoy. At the ſame time, I can ſee that it is no wonder you ſhould be ſtrenuous in ſuppreſſing a book which ſtrikes at the root of thoſe abuſes. No wonder that you ſhould be againſt reforms, againſt the freedom of the preſs, and the right of inveſtigation. To you, and to others of your deſcription, theſe are dreadful things; but you ſhould alſo conſider, that the motives which prompt you to *act*, ought, by reflection, to compel you to be *ſilent*.

Having now returned your compliment, and ſufficiently tired your patience, I take my leave of you, with mentioning, that if you had not prevented my former letter from being read at the meeting, you would not have had the trouble of reading this; and alſo with requeſting, that the next time you call me "*a common enemy*," you would add, "*of us ſinecure placemen and penſioners.*"

I am, Sir, &c. &c. &c.

THOMAS PAINE.

SECOND LETTER

TO

MR. SECRETARY DUNDAS.

SIR, *Calais, Sept.* 15, 1792.

I CONCEIVE it neceſſary to make you acquainted with the following circumſtance:—The Department of Calais having elected me a member of the National Convention of France, I ſat off from London the 13th inſt. in company with Mr. Froſt, of Spring Gardens, and Mr. Audibert, one of the Municipal Officers of Calais, who brought me the certificate of my being elected. We had not arrived more, I believe, than five minutes at the York Hotel, at Dover, when the train of circumſtances began that I am going to relate. We had taken our baggage out of the carriage and put it into a room, into which we went. Mr. Froſt having occaſion to go out, was ſtopt in the paſſage by a Gentleman, who told him, he muſt return into the room, which he did, and the Gentleman came in with him, and ſhut the door: I had remained in the room. Mr. Audibert was gone to inquire when the packet was to ſail. The Gentleman then ſaid, that he was Collector of the Cuſtoms, and had an information againſt us, and muſt examine our baggage for prohibited articles. He produced his commiſſion as Collector. Mr. F. demanded to ſee the information, which the Collector refuſed to ſhew, and continued to refuſe on every demand that we made. The Collector then called in ſeveral other officers, and began firſt to ſearch our pockets. He took from Mr. Audibert, who was then returned into the room, every thing he found in his pocket, and laid it on the table. He then ſearched Mr. Froſt in the ſame manner, (who, among other things, had the keys of the trunks in his pocket) and then did the ſame by me. Mr. Froſt wanting to go out, mentioned it, and was going towards the door; on which the Collector placed himſelf againſt the door, and ſaid nobody ſhould depart the room.

room. After the keys had been taken from Mr. Froſt (for I had given him the keys of my trunks beforehand, for the purpoſe of his attending the baggage to the Cuſtoms, if it ſhould be neceſſary) the Collector aſked us to open the trunks, preſenting us the keys for that purpoſe; this we declined to do, unleſs he would produce his information, which he again refuſed. The Collector then opened the trunks himſelf, and took out every paper and letter, ſealed or unſealed—On our remonſtrating with him on the bad policy, as well as the illegality of Cuſtom-houſe Officers ſeizing papers and letters, which were things that did not come under their cognizance, he replied, that the *Proclamation* gave him the authority.

"Among the letters which he took out of my trunk were two ſealed letters given into my charge, by the American Miniſter in London, one of which was directed to the American Miniſter at Paris, the other to a private Gentleman; a letter from the Preſident of the United States, and a letter from the Secretary of State in America, both directed to me, and which I had received from the American Miniſter now in London, and were private letters of friendſhip; a letter from the Electoral Body of the Department of Calais, containing the notification of my being elected to the National Convention; and a letter from the Preſident of the National Aſſembly, informing me of my being alſo elected for the Department of Oiſe.

"As we found that all remonſtrances with the Collector, on the bad policy and illegality of ſeizing papers and letters, and retaining our perſons by force, under the pretence of ſearching for prohibited articles, were vain, (for he juſtified himſelf on the Proclamation, and on the information which he refuſed to ſhew) we contented ourſelves with aſſuring him, that what he was then doing, he would afterwards have to anſwer for, and left it to himſelf to do as he pleaſed.

"It appeared to us that the Collector was acting under the direction of ſome other perſon or perſons then in the Hotel, but whom he did not chuſe we ſhould ſee, or who did not chuſe to be ſeen by us; for the Collector went ſeveral times out of the room for a few minutes, and was alſo called out ſeveral times.

When the Collector had taken out what papers and letters he pleaſed out of the trunks, he proceeded to read them. The firſt letter he took up for this purpoſe was that from the Preſident of the United States to me. While he was doing this, I ſaid, that it was very extraordinary that General Waſhington could not write a letter of private friendſhip to me without its being ſubject to be read by a Cuſtom-houſe Officer. Upon this Mr. Froſt laid his hand over the face of the letter, and told the Collector that he ſhould not read it, and took it from him. Mr. Froſt then caſting his eyes on the concluding paragraph of the letter, ſaid, I will read this part to you, which he did; of which the following is an exact tranſcript—"And as no one can ſee a greater intereſt in the happineſs of man-"kind than I do, it is the firſt wiſh of my heart, that the enlightened policy "of the preſent age may diffuſe to all men thoſe bleſſings to which they are en-"titled, and lay the foundation of happineſs to future generations."

As all the other letters and papers lay then on the table, the Collector took them up, and was going out of the room with them. During the tranſactions already ſtated, I contented myſelf with obſerving what paſſed, and ſpoke but little; but on ſeeing the Collector going out of the room with the letters, I told him that the papers and letters then in his hand, were either belonging to me, or entruſted to my charge, and that as I could not permit them to be out of my ſight, I muſt inſiſt on going with him.

The Collector then made a liſt of the letters and papers, and went out of the room, giving the letters and papers into the charge of one of the officers. He returned in a ſhort time, and, after ſome trifling converſation, chiefly about the Proclamation, told us, that he ſaw *the Proclamation was ill-founded*, and aſked if we choſe to put the letters and papers into the trunks ourſelves, which, as we had not taken them out, we declined doing, and he did it himſelf, and returned us the keys.

In ſtating to you theſe matters, I make no complaint againſt the perſonal conduct of the Collector, or of any of the officers. Their manner was as civil as ſuch an extraordinary piece of buſineſs could admit of.

My chief motive in writing to you on this ſubject is, that you may take meaſures for preventing the like in future, not only as it concerns private individuals, but in order to prevent a renewal of thoſe unpleaſant conſequences that have heretofore ariſen between nations from circumſtances equally as inſignificant. I mention this only for myſelf; but as the interruption extended to two other Gentlemen, it is probable that they, as individuals, will take ſome more effectual mode for redreſs.

I am, Sir, your's, &c.

THOMAS PAINE.

P. S. Among the papers ſeized was a copy of the Attorney General's information againſt me, for publiſhing the *Rights of Man*, and a printed proof copy of my letter to the Addreſſers, which will ſoon be publiſhed.

LETTER

OF

THOMAS PAINE,

TO THE

PEOPLE OF FRANCE.

" *Paris, Sept.* 25,
" *Firſt Year of the Republic.*"

" FELLOW CITIZENS!

" I RECEIVE, with affectionate gratitude, the honour which the late National Aſſembly has conferred upon me, by adopting me a Citizen of France; and the additional honour of being elected by my fellow citizens a Member of the National Convention. Happily impreſſed, as I am, by thoſe teſtimonies of reſpect ſhewn towards me as an individual, I feel my felicity increaſed by ſeeing the barrier broken down that divided patriotiſm by ſpots of earth, and limited citizenſhip to the ſoil, like vegetation.

" Had thoſe honours been conferred in an hour of national tranquillity, they would have afforded no other means of ſhewing my affection, than to have accepted and enjoyed them; but they come accompanied with circumſtances that give me the honourable opportunity of commencing my citizenſhip in the ſtormy hour of difficulties. I come not to enjoy repoſe. Convinced that the cauſe of France is the cauſe of all mankind, and that as liberty cannot be purchaſed by a wiſh, I gladly ſhare with you the dangers and honours neceſſary to ſucceſs.

" I am well aware that the moment of any great change, ſuch as that accompliſhed on the 10th of Auguſt, is unavoidably the moment of terror and confuſion. The mind, highly agitated by hope, ſuſpicion and apprehenſion, continues without reſt till the change be accompliſhed. But let us now look calmly and confidentially forward, and ſucceſs is certain. It is no longer the paltry cauſe of kings, or of this, or of that individual, that calls France and her armies into action. It is the great cauſe of ALL. It is the eſtabliſhment of a new æra, that ſhall blot deſpotiſm from the earth, and fix, on the laſting principles of peace and citizenſhip, the great Republic of Man.

" It has been my fate to have borne a ſhare in the commencement and complete eſtabliſhment of one Revolution (I mean the Revolution of America). The ſucceſs and events of that Revolu-

tion

tion are encouraging to us. The prosperity and happiness that have since flowed to that country, have amply rewarded her for all the hardships she endured and for all the dangers she encountered.

"The principles on which that Revolution began, have extended themselves to Europe; and an over-ruling Providence is regenerating the Old World by the principles of the New. The distance of America from all the other parts of the globe did not admit of her carrying those principles beyond her own situation. It is to the peculiar honour of France, that she now raises the standard of liberty for all nations; and in fighting her own battles, contends for the rights of all mankind.

"The same spirit of fortitude that insured success to America, will insure it to France, for it is impossible to conquer a nation determined to be free! The military circumstances that now unite themselves to France, are such as the despots of the earth know nothing of, and can form no calculation upon. They know not what it is to fight against a nation; they have only been accustomed to make war upon each other, and they know, from system and practice, how to calculate the probable success of despot against despot; and here their knowledge and their experience end.

"But in a contest like the present, a new and boundless variety of circumstances arise, that deranges all such customary calculations. When a whole nation acts as an army, the despot knows not the extent of the power against which he contends. New armies rise against him with the necessity of the moment. It is then that the difficulties of an invading enemy multiply, as in the former case they diminished; and he finds them at their height when he expected them to end.

"The only war that has any similiarity of circumstances with the present, is the late revolution war in America. On her part, as it now is in France, it was a war of the whole nation:—there it was that the enemy, by beginning to conquer, put himself in a condition of being conquered. His first victories prepared him for defeat. He advanced till he could not retreat, and found himself in the midst of a nation of armies.

"Were it now to be proposed to the Austrians and Prussians to escort them into the middle of France, and there leave them to make the most of such a situation, they would see too much into the dangers of it to accept the offer, and the same dangers would attend them, could they arrive there by any other means. Where, then, is the military policy of their attempting to obtain, by force, that which they would refuse by choice? But to reason with despots is throwing reason away. The best of arguments is a vigorous preparation.

"Man is ever a stranger to the ways by which Providence regulates the order of things. The interference of foreign despots may serve to introduce into their own enslaved countries the principles they come to oppose. Liberty and Equality are blessings too great to be the inheritance of France alone. It is honour to her to be their first champion; and she may now say to her enemies, with a mighty voice, "O, ye Austrians, ye Prussians! ye "who now turn your bayonets against us, it is for you, it is for all

"Europe,

" Europe, it is for all mankind, and not for France alone, that " ſhe raiſes the ſtandard of Liberty and Equality!"

" The public cauſe has hitherto ſuffered from the contradictions contained in the Conſtitution of the former Conſtituent Aſſembly. Thoſe contradictions have ſerved to divide the opinions of individuals at home, and to obſcure the great principles of the Revolution in other countries. But when thoſe contradictions ſhall be removed, and the Conſtitution be made conformable to the declaration of Rights; when the bagatelles of monarchy, royalty, regency, and hereditary ſucceſſion, ſhall be expoſed, with all their abſurdities, a new ray of light will be thrown over the world, and the Revolution will derive new ſtrength by being univerſally underſtood.

" The ſcene that now opens itſelf to France extends far beyond the boundaries of her own dominions. Every nation is becoming her colleague, and every court is become her enemy. It is now the cauſe of all nations, againſt the cauſe of all courts. The terrors that deſpotiſm felt, clandeſtinely begot a confederation of deſpots; and their attack upon France is produced by their fears at home.

" In entering on this great ſcene, greater than any nation has yet been called to act in, let us ſay to the agitated mind, be calm. Let us puniſh by inſtructing, rather than by revenge. Let us begin the new æra by a greatneſs of friendſhip, and hail the approach of union and ſucceſs.

" Your Fellow-Citizen,

" THOMAS PAINE."

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